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the acquisition of property, both for business purposes and for homes. The discriminating rents already referred to have had some influence in this direction, for the more intelligent and more able Negroes have seen that it would be cheaper in the long run to buy their houses than to rent them. The neighborhoods where this change is taking place are those mentioned above as being occupied by well-to-do Negroes,—certain streets in wards 22, 23, and 25. There are a few comfortable Negro homes also scattered along two or three streets otherwise almost wholly German, in spite of the antipathy that exists between the German and the Negro in economic relations. In addition to this disposition to buy real estate, it is evident from the study of business enterprises that the Negroes are accumulating capital. That there is a strong tendency towards acquiring property, seems beyond a doubt; it has been mentioned by several prominent Negro citizens as one of the hopeful indications in regard to their race in this city. There are serious obstacles in the way of race prejudice and the poverty that makes difficult a start in the upward direction, yet one cannot but feel that in St. Louis, as in Philadelphia, the chief reason why the Negroes do not own far more property already is “misdirected energies”; and that “if the Negroes had bought little homes as persistently as they have worked to develop a church and secret society system, and had invested more of their earnings in savings banks and less in clothes, they would be in a far better condition to demand industrial opportunity than they are today.”<sup>1</sup>

#### 7. OCCUPATIONS.

The occupations engaged in by the Negro show more clearly than anything else, perhaps, his industrial value. The consensus of opinion among the intelligent Negroes of St. Louis, who are acquainted with conditions in other cities, seems to be that there is less opportunity for the Negro here than in cities either farther south or farther north, the

<sup>1</sup> Du Bois, p. 185.

reasons given being that farther south he has a monopoly of many occupations, including certain trades, and there is comparatively little organization of labor, and farther north white men do not object to working side by side with him. This may very well be true. In the absence of any general statistics for occupations<sup>1</sup> it has been necessary to arrive at existing conditions by putting together bits of information obtained in various ways. It is not claimed that the results are accurate in the sense of exhaustive, but they may be trusted as giving indications from which the general state of affairs may be inferred.

There is now a considerable professional class among the Negroes, consisting of teachers, preachers, physicians, lawyers, and dentists. The colored schools are taught entirely by Negroes, and in 1899-1900 they employed 17 men and 87 women, a total of 104. There are over thirty organized Negro churches, which implies about as many clergymen employed in their profession. The highest salary received by any of them is \$1700. Five or six are well-educated, intelligent men, with a high ideal of the responsibilities of their position, and a high standard of morality. The rest are more or less open to the charges brought by Colonel Thomas against the religious leaders of the race all over the country. Next to the clergymen in numbers come the physicians, of whom there are fourteen. Of these, one has been practicing here twenty-two years, five between seven and twelve years, and the other eight less than five. Five are graduates of Howard University, five of Meharry College, one of Harvard, one of the University of Pennsylvania, one of the Chicago College of Physicians and Surgeons, and the one optician of Hardins Optical School. Only one of these fourteen carries on any other occupation. Their patients are almost entirely from the colored people. One, who has been here ten years and has an excellent reputation, has a few white patients. They came to him at first by accident and then continued to pat-

<sup>1</sup> A special report dealing with occupation in relation to race and nationality is promised by the authorities of the Twelfth Census.

ronize him. Two others, whose offices are in districts inhabited by poor whites as well as Negroes, report that they have both white and colored patients. But almost the whole patronage is drawn from the Negroes. To this list should be added a masseur, who is said to do good work. He has been for two months in attendance on an invalid in another part of the country. There are two dentists with an excellent practice, one of whom has been here nine years, the other, five; they are graduates of Meharry College and of the Chicago College of Dentistry, and they have both white and colored patients. A small straw, which yet indicates something of the direction of the social wind, is that the Negroes are beginning to pay considerable attention to their teeth. There are ten well-established lawyers; one of these has been practicing in St. Louis for twenty-five years, one for fourteen, one for nine, and the others from two to five. Three are graduates of Ann Arbor, three of Howard University, two of the St. Louis Law School, and two received their education in private schools. Three carry on side occupations. Their clientèle is made up almost wholly of Negroes. The man who perhaps stands at the top of this list, tells me that white men sometimes come to consult him, having seen his name in the paper, but when they see him, they almost always excuse themselves. Taking it altogether the professional class is distinctly creditable to the race.

The entrepreneur class among the Negroes of St. Louis has been of recent development, but it is no longer a negligible quantity. Fifteen years ago there was scarcely an enterprise to be found conducted by Negroes, apart from the barber shops and one saloon; this summer there are certainly over a hundred. Seventy-five, including all of the most important ones (except in the case of barber shops) have been investigated: these seventy-five enterprises are carried on by 121 persons, and employ 329 others; the capital invested is \$66,650. The amount of capital is probably exaggerated in some cases, but in four others it was not given at all, on account of an irremovable fear that in some

way the information if given would get to the new license commissioner, who is taxing business to the limit of the law. The results of the investigation are here tabulated:—

TABLE XVIII.  
SEVENTY-FIVE BUSINESS ENTERPRISES, 1901.

Character of the Business.	Number of Firms.	Number in Firm.	Capital Invested.	Number of Employees.
Undertakers . . . . .	2	4	—	23
Druggists . . . . .	2	5	\$3,500	6
Grocers . . . . .	7	36 <sup>1</sup>	8,400	15
Saloonkeepers . . . . .	11	13	17,000	48
Restauranteurs and caterers .	8	9	3,400	36
Paper-hangers . . . . .	2	3	800 <sup>2</sup>	5
Expressmen . . . . .	2	3	1,600	7
Contractor . . . . .	1	1	—	27
Coal and ice dealers . . . .	7	10	5,300	20
Barbers <sup>3</sup> . . . . .	15	16	19,400	95
Cigar manufacturers . . . .	2	2	700	4
Veterinary surgeon . . . . .	1	1	700	15
Miscellaneous . . . . .	15	18	5,850	38
<b>Total . . . . .</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>121</b>	<b>\$66,650</b>	<b>329</b>

<sup>1</sup> The coöperative company, with 20 members.

<sup>2</sup> Only one of the two firms.

<sup>3</sup> Very incomplete; only a few representative firms.

The most considerable business is one of the undertaking firms, which has been established six years, employs twenty men, and had charge of more funerals last year, all among Negroes, than any other firm in the city, white or colored. The drug stores and several of the groceries are quite flourishing; they are situated in the Negro quarters and are patronized chiefly by Negroes, though they have some custom from the white people in the same neighborhood. The saloons are perhaps the most profitable of all the enterprises engaged in: one has been established since 1879, and has \$5000 invested in it; five of them are near the Union Station, the others are in distinctly Negro localities. The color line seems not to be drawn among their clientèle, but the white customers are, of course, of the lowest class. The

restaurants are small affairs which cater almost exclusively to Negroes; some of them sell cooked food to be taken home. None of the fine caterers of the city are Negroes. The list of barber shops is by no means complete; this business is still largely in the hands of the Negro; he has not been supplanted here, as in Philadelphia,<sup>1</sup> by Germans and Italians. There are indications that this may take place in the future, for the shops in some of the leading hotels are conducted by white men, but up to this date it may be said that the best barbers in the city are Negroes. The coal and ice dealers given are only those who have a considerable trade. There is almost any number of ephemeral little businesses in coal, ice and watermelons, established in shanties or sheds all over the city. The fifteen "miscellaneous" enterprises include one milliner, one tailor, two dressmakers, one hairdresser, two artists, one printer, one dyer and cleaner, three blacksmiths, one wagonmaker, one jeweler, and one dealer in teas and coffees. Of these 75 enterprises 27 have been established in the last year, and only 9 were in existence in 1890. The disposition on the part of the Negroes to patronize their own race is growing, and affords a reason for believing that there is room for further development along this line of individual undertakings.

There are three weekly newspapers published by Negroes. All are political organs. One has a circulation of about 2000, and another of 1000; they are small sheets, filled chiefly with accounts of past excursions, barbecues, and "sociables," announcements of similar functions in the future, personal notes, and advertisements of Negro businesses and of lotions for bleaching the skin and preparations guaranteed to make curly hair straight. The Democratic organ, *The American Eagle*, has recently made an editorial change which promises radically to improve the paper; it consists now of eight pages, and contains some general news and a story or two.

The Negro is practically excluded from all trades in St. Louis by the attitude of the labor organizations. Carpenters,

<sup>1</sup> Du Bois, p. 116.

bricklayers, and plumbers can get work only from the one Negro contractor. Negroes cannot be employed as clerks in any of the department stores, nor in any factories with the single exception of the tobacco factories. There are certain processes in the preparation of tobacco where the heat required is so great that white laborers cannot be used; in these departments the Liggett and Myers-Drummond Branch of the Continental Tobacco Company employ about 350 Negroes, making 13 per cent of the total number of laborers. The Negroes in this case are not associated with the white employees, and there is no possibility of comparing their efficiency with that of white laborers, because white labor is not employed for the same sort of work. Negroes are employed in the engine room, and as janitors in many of the factories, but not in the manufacturing processes. At the time of the street-car strike in 1900 the Transit Company took on about 200 Negroes for work at the power houses, and these, I believe, have been retained. I have not been able to discover any other instance where Negroes are employed in large numbers. The responsibility for this exclusion of the Negro from the trades lies with the white workman, rather than with the white employer; the large number of foreigners, chiefly Germans, in St. Louis make the outlook for the Negro far from encouraging in this respect, for they seem to have more race prejudice in business relations than the native-born American, and they even now control the trade organizations. An old Negro who has lived in St. Louis for forty years and has been a political leader and otherwise prominent for almost as long said to me: "I'd take my chances every time with a native American rather than a foreigner." And this seems to be the general opinion.

Between 85 and 90 Negroes are in the employ of the city and federal governments. There are 40 in the postoffice<sup>1</sup>; of these 14 are in the mailing division, 14 are carriers, 11 are in the city distributing division, and one is in the general delivery department. The city employees include 4 clerks,

<sup>1</sup> Figures furnished by the Assistant-Postmaster.

2 detectives, 2 deputy-sheriffs, 2 deputy-marshalls, 1 license inspector, 2 water inspectors, and between 30 and 35 janitors.<sup>1</sup> An important position often filled by Negroes is that of janitor in the large office buildings. Some of these janitors have held their positions for fifteen or twenty years. They employ their own assistants, sometimes to the number of twenty-five, and are responsible for the condition of the whole building. There are many musicians, who play the organs at the Negro churches and give private lessons, and there is an orchestra which furnishes music for most of the social functions. There are several stenographers, probably more than there is work for, and there are at least three trained nurses. Four or five St. Louis Negroes have made inventions which promise to be successful. All of this, however, accounts for only a small percentage of the Negroes engaged in gainful occupations. The great mass is employed in so-called "menial" work: the men are hod-carriers, day laborers on the streets and at the levee, draymen, teamsters, porters, janitors, elevator boys, and domestic servants. The women are chiefly laundresses and house servants. The only figures I can find that indicate at all the proportion of the population engaged in different occupations are those for the occupations of the parents and guardians of the public school children in 1897-98.<sup>2</sup> It appears from these figures that 95 per cent of the parents and guardians of the 4785 colored pupils were engaged in personal service and unskilled labor. Some think that there is a tendency to displace Negro servants by white ones; it is difficult to judge whether this is true or not. There are two reasons why it may be: *first*, that a growing proportion of the substantial population of the city is German, and a German family rarely employs a Negro servant; and *second*, that the younger Negroes are learning to disdain domestic service, and go into it only when compelled to, and consequently with little interest and less

<sup>1</sup> Furnished by Mayor Wells.

<sup>2</sup> *School Board Report*, p. 240.



preparation for it, and so prove less efficient than foreign or native white girls.

On the whole it would seem that in the past decade a distinct advance has been made in the economic condition of the St. Louis Negroes, in spite of the fact that many occupations are entirely closed to them and probably will continue to be. However difficult it has been to accomplish, it is certainly a fact that a property-holding class has differentiated itself from the mass of the improvident. The growth in the number of individual enterprises is significant apart from the evidence it gives of capital accumulated, for it seems to point to a growing appreciation of the necessity for mutual support. Perhaps it is not too much to predict that the time will come here when the wants of the Negroes will be supplied almost wholly by their own race. In a place where there is small indication that the Negro and the white man will ever work together side by side this tendency suggests a solution.

## 8. SOCIAL CONDITION.

### *Education.*

Before the civil war the instruction of Negroes was forbidden by state law in Missouri<sup>1</sup> as in most of the other slave states, but in February, 1865, in compliance with the demands of the state legislature, the St. Louis Board of Education adopted a report recommending the establishment of one or two schools for colored children.<sup>2</sup> In spite of "strenuous efforts" a delay was occasioned by a "difficulty in finding suitable rooms," but during the next year three schools were established, with an average daily attendance of 294.<sup>3</sup> The provision has been increased gradually, until there are twelve district schools, eight of which have kindergartens, one high school, including a normal course, and two evening schools. Negroes are not admitted to any of the public schools except

<sup>1</sup> Hyde and Conard, article *Slavery*.

<sup>2</sup> *School Board Report*, 1865-66, p. 7.

<sup>3</sup> *Report*, 1866-67, pp. 31-33.

those that are maintained exclusively for them. The value of the property used for colored schools in 1899 was \$341,181.99 out of a total valuation of \$5,163,642.39.<sup>1</sup> When the first free public schools were opened the demand for instruction was being met by several other schools, which were supported by the Freedmen's Bureau, by benevolent societies, and by tuition fees.<sup>2</sup> At present there are no private schools for Negroes in the city. In the early years it was, of course, necessary to employ white teachers in the colored schools, but in 1877 the School Board decided to substitute Negroes if a sufficient number properly qualified could be found. This attempt was successful, and for twenty-six years the colored children have been taught by men and women of their own race. Three of the men who responded at the first call for teachers are still connected with the schools as principals. The teachers in the high and normal school generally come from well-known colleges and universities, and are rarely St. Louis Negroes. The grammar schools and kindergartens, on the other hand, are almost entirely supplied with graduates of the normal course in the Sumner High School. The high school course was introduced in 1877-78. The school is a commodious, pleasant building, and seems to be well equipped. The equipment includes a good chemical laboratory, and a room for domestic science. The domestic science class, whose members are drawn from the district schools as well as the high school, numbered 78 in 1899-1900.<sup>3</sup> For thirteen years a manual training class has been carried on in the L'Overture school; there were 103 boys enrolled in this class in 1899-1900.<sup>1</sup> The first kindergarten for colored children in St. Louis was established about twenty years ago; for eight years it was carried on by a white teacher, but in 1889 a young colored woman was graduated from the kindergarten training school, and was given charge of the colored kindergarten. Since then

<sup>1</sup> *Report*, 1898-99, p. 257.

<sup>2</sup> *Report*, 1876-67, pp. 31-33.

<sup>3</sup> *Report*, 1899-1900.

this branch of education also has been in the hands of Negro women. There are now 8 kindergartens, with 25 teachers. A training school is maintained, with an average of 10 pupils. Some of these graduates find places here and some go away to other places; two have opened kindergartens in Kansas City, one of the class of 1901 went to Atlanta in September of that year, and another to take charge of the first kindergarten at Tuskegee Institute. In regard to the character of the colored schools, in general, Prof. F. Louis Soldan, the superintendent of instruction, has stated his opinion as follows:<sup>1</sup> "The work which the Negro pupils are doing in the public schools is very remarkable considering the disadvantages under which they labor. Their home surroundings; the facilities, or rather the lack of facilities, they have for study; the absence of books in their homes — all these must be taken into account in judging of the progress made. The colored teachers at work in our schools deserve the greatest praise. They are intelligent, industrious, and devoted to the cause of their race."

The following table has been compiled from the school board reports from 1866-67 to 1900-01. The number enrolled is presented because the average daily attendance could not in every case be secured, but the latter would give a truer view of the amount of schooling received by white and colored. Up to 1884-85 it is impossible to give the figures for the high schools, and consequently for the total enrollment.

There has been a pretty steady increase in all classes of schools since 1867. The only remarkable exception is the falling off in the colored schools in the last few years. This is probably due to business prosperity, which implies an increased demand for labor of all sorts. Many colored boys and girls go to school because they cannot get work, and leave as soon as opportunity offers for them to become pro-

<sup>1</sup> Personal letter, June 22, 1901.

TABLE XIX.

PUPILS ENROLLED IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, 1866-1901.

Year.	White.			Colored.		
	District Schools.	High School.	Total.	District Schools.	High School.	Total.
1866-67	14,851	....	....	437	....	....
1867-68	17,079	....	....	924	....	....
1868-69	19,764	....	....	917	....	....
1869-70	22,562	....	....	1,249	....	....
1870-71	25,329	....	....	1,560	....	....
1871-72	27,901	....	....	1,568	....	....
1872-73	30,878	....	....	1,694	....	....
1873-74	31,406	....	....	1,727	....	....
1874-75	32,766	....	....	1,634	....	....
1875-76	35,262	....	....	1,503	....	....
1876-77	39,133	....	....	1,831	....	....
1877-78	45,506	....	....	2,484	....	....
1878-79	45,328	....	....	2,934	....	....
1879-80	47,030	....	....	3,670	....	....
1880-81	46,867	....	....	3,652	....	....
1881-82	48,267	....	....	4,055	....	....
1882-83	49,912	....	....	4,225	....	....
1883-84	47,914	....	....	4,366	....	....
1884-85	48,669	907	49,576	4,391	20	4,411
1885-86	48,955	949	49,904	4,411	43	4,454
1886-87	49,540	1,108	50,648	4,497	74	4,571
1887-88	51,072	1,177	52,349	4,675	84	4,759
1888-89	50,609	1,332	51,941	5,079	99	5,178
1889-90	51,656	1,482	53,138	5,022	114	5,136
1890-91	53,078	1,521	54,599	4,874	146	5,020
1891-92	55,587	1,533	57,120	5,092	196	5,288
1892-93	58,172	1,645	59,817	5,145	210	5,345
1893-94	61,311	1,856	63,167	5,459	212	5,671
1894-95	62,803	1,967	64,770	5,448	210	5,658
1895-96	65,628	2,049	67,677	5,605	247	5,852
1896-97	67,151	1,958	69,109	5,573	268	5,841
1897-98	68,154	1,983	70,137	5,524	261	5,785
1898-99	68,998	1,855	70,853	5,139	252	5,391
1899-1900	70,468	1,993	72,461	5,552	250	5,802
1900-1901	71,173	2,073	73,246	....	....	5,375

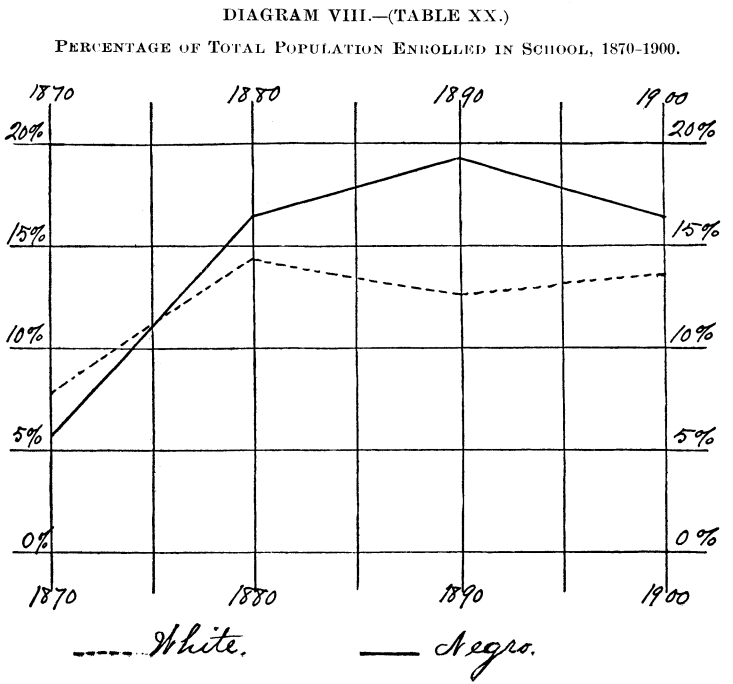
ductive members of their families. This is equally true of the poorer classes of white pupils, but the poorer classes form a much smaller proportion of the total number of white pupils than of the total number of colored pupils. And so the same causes that operate to increase attendance at the white schools will decrease it at the colored.

In the next table is shown the proportion of children in school to the total population at each census year.

TABLE XX.—(DIAGRAM VIII.)  
PROPORTION OF CHILDREN IN SCHOOL TO TOTAL POPULATION AT THE CENSUS YEARS.

Year.	White.			Negro.		
	Total Population.	Enrolled in School.		Total Population.	Enrolled in School.	
		Number.	Per cent.		Number.	Per cent.
1870	288,737	22,562 <sup>1</sup>	7.81	22,088	1,249	5.65
1880	328,191	47,030 <sup>1</sup>	14.33	22,256	3,670	16.44
1890	424,704	53,138	12.51	26,865	5,136	19.12
1900	539,385	72,461	13.43	35,516	5,882	16.34

<sup>1</sup> Exclusive of the High School.



The noticeable thing is that in each year except 1870 the proportion of colored children in school has been larger than the proportion of white children. This may be accounted for by the number of white children who are in private schools in the city and elsewhere, and by the difference in the age constitution of the classes. The proportion of children in the Negro population is greater than among the native-born whites, and much greater than among the foreign born.

A comparison, however, of the number enrolled with the population of the school age in 1900, shows that 61 per cent of the Negroes, but only 43 per cent of the white children between 5 and 20 years of age, were in school.

TABLE XXI.

PROPORTION OF POPULATION OF SCHOOL AGE ENROLLED IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS,  
1899-1900.

Population Group.	Population of School Age.	Enrolled in School.	
		Number.	Per cent of Population.
White . . . . .	169,974	72,461	42.63
Negro . . . . .	9,541	5,802	60.81

The number of pupils enrolled does not fairly represent the number in school, and the amount of absence is always greater among the Negroes. They are taken out of school whenever any casual employment presents itself, and much time is lost from sheer lack of sufficient clothing. And so the difference between the number of children enrolled and the average daily attendance is greater among the Negroes than among the whites. In 1900 the average daily attendance at the white schools was 9.96 per cent of the total population, and at the colored schools, 9.52 per cent. The proportion of teachers to pupils is found to be about the same; there are 59 white pupils to each teacher and 56 colored.

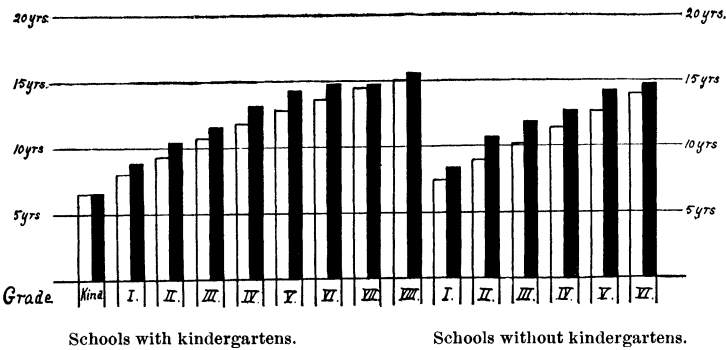
The age of the pupils in the various grades is interesting :—

TABLE XXII.—(DIAGRAM IX.)  
AVERAGE AGE OF PUPILS, 1898-99 ; YEARS AND MONTHS.

Class of Schools.	Kindergarten.	Grade I.	Grade II.	Grade III.	Grade IV.	Grade V.	Grade VI.	Grade VII.	Grade VIII.
White, with kindergarten .	6:7	8:0	9:3	10:7	11:9	12:9	13:7	14:6	15:1
Colored, " " .	6:7	8:10	10:4	11:6	13:1	14:3	14:9	14:9	15:7
Difference . . . . .	0	0:10	1:1	0:11	1:4	1:6	1:2	0:3	0:6
White, without kindergarten	—	7:6	9:0	10:2	11:5	12:8	14:0	15:1	15:1
Colored, " " .	—	8:5	10:8	11:11	12:8	14:3	14:9	—	—
Difference . . . . .	—	0:11	1:8	1:9	1:3	1:7	0:9	—	—

DIAGRAM IX.—(TABLE XXII.)

AVERAGE AGE OF PUPILS



There is no difference in the kindergartens, but everywhere else the Negroes are older than the white pupils by from three months to one year and nine months. The difference is least in the upper grades, showing that it is the "fittest" among the Negroes who survive to reach them.

The following table gives the age of pupils in the evening schools :—

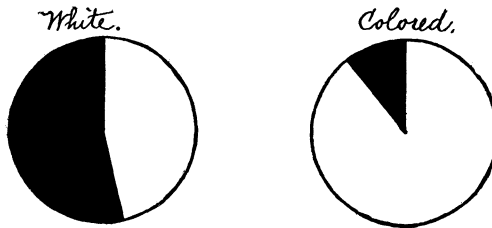
TABLE XXIII.—(DIAGRAM X.)

AGE OF PUPILS IN EVENING SCHOOLS, 1899-1900.

Ages.	White.		Colored.	
	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
12	97	4.5	3	1.1
13	220	10.3	6	2.2
14	399	18.7	12	4.3
15	427	20.1	9	3.2
16	384	18.0	17	6.1
17	250	11.7	25	8.9
18	144	6.8	17	6.1
19	119	5.6	23	8.2
20	91	4.3	167	59.9
Total . . . . .	2,131	100.0	279	100.0

DIAGRAM X.—(TABLE XXIII.)

AGES OF PUPILS IN EVENING SCHOOLS, 1899-1900.



Black segment = pupils 12-15 years of age.

White " = " 16 years or over.

Fifty-three and six-tenths per cent of the white pupils are between 12 and 15 years of age, but only 10.7 per cent of the colored. On the other hand, only 4.3 per cent of the white pupils are 20 or over, in comparison with almost 60 per cent of the colored. This is perhaps a consequence of the fact that comparatively few occupations are open to Negro boys who, therefore, have nothing to do but to go to the day schools, and so there are actually fewer Negroes than



whites at the earlier ages who are "eligible," so to speak, for the evening schools.

It would seem that the city provides very satisfactorily for the education of the Negro from the kindergarten through the high-school course, and that the Negro improves his opportunities. Recently an attempt has been made<sup>1</sup> to establish an educational lecture course for the "more enlightened elements" of the adult colored population. A course of eight lectures on American history was given on Saturday evenings during the winter. Another feature was added in the shape of a short "practical talk" at the beginning of the evening. The speakers were all prominent white citizens. These evenings drew an average attendance of over 200, limited only by the size of the hall, and the enthusiasm kept up to the end of the course. Mr. Sheldon thinks that the attempt was highly successful.

The effectiveness of this unusually good provision for the education of the Negroes may be tested in a crude way by an inquiry into the proportion of illiterates in the population.

TABLE XXIV.

PROPORTION OF ILLITERATES IN POPULATION OVER 10 YEARS OF AGE, 1900.

Color and Nativity.	Population over 10 Years of Age.	Illiterates over 10 Years of Age.	
		Number.	Per cent of Population.
Native white of native parentage	129,111	1,348	1.04
Native white of foreign parentage	289,551	1,666	0.58
Foreign-born white . . . . .	110,021	10,764	9.78
Colored . . . . .	30,568	6,581	21.53

The colored are by far the most illiterate element of the population, having more than twice the proportion found among the foreign born. An analysis of the colored illiterates by age and sex, however, is somewhat illuminating.

<sup>1</sup> Described by Mr. Sheldon in *The Nation*, April 11, 1901.

TABLE XXV.

PROPORTION OF ILLITERATES IN THE COLORED POPULATION BY AGE PERIODS  
AND SEX, 1900.

Age.	Population.		Illiterates.			
			Number.		Per cent of Population.	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
All over 10 years	15,298	15,607	2,600	3,981	17.00	25.51
10-14 "	1,378	1,504	54	35	3.92	2.33
15-19 "	1,514	1,797	116	106	7.66	5.90
20-24 "	2,154	2,385	138	168	6.41	7.04
25-34 "	4,182	4,209	413	690	9.87	16.39
35-44 "	3,003	2,679	569	941	18.95	38.86
45-54 "	1,693	1,572	603	976	35.55	62.09
55-64 "	762	759	373	564	48.95	74.31
65 and over . .	406	509	275	382	67.73	75.05
Unknown . . .	203	198	59	119	29.06	60.10

This reveals the fact that the burden of illiteracy falls on the female part of the population and on the later age periods. Among both men and women the percentage of illiterates increases steadily after the age of 20. Seventy-three per cent of all the illiterates are over 35 years of age. It is, therefore, the Negroes born in slavery or during the civil war who are illiterate, and the low percentages between 10 and 25 would seem to signify that the younger generation is making use of its educational opportunities.

### *Pauperism.*

The agencies which deal with cases of distress among the Negroes of St. Louis may be divided into four classes. First, there are the city institutions, the poor house, the hospitals, and the House of Refuge. Next comes the Provident Association, the only philanthropic institution among the white people which does anything for Negroes. Then there are the Negro societies described below, which are pitifully inadequate, and the Negro churches. And, finally, there is the work of individuals, both white and colored, and

in this last class, without doubt, comes most of the relief given. The charity of the city is only slightly organized. The Provident Association wishes to "serve as a center of inter-communication" for the various philanthropic agencies, public and private, but this object is subordinate to its primary one of giving relief to all worthy applicants not coming under the care of some other society or church. Not only are the charitable societies practically unorganized but much of the relief work in the city is done by individuals not connected even with an independent society.

The amount of relief given by these four agencies cannot even be estimated. The reports of the city poor-house make no distinction of color except in the single item of burials; why the exception should be made is hard to see. The following table, of admissions to the city hospital, means something, but not much: —

TABLE XXVI.  
ADMISSIONS TO THE CITY HOSPITAL, 1887-1897.

Year Ending April 1.	Total.	White.	Colored.	
			Number.	Per cent of Total.
1887	5,960	5,409	551	9.25
1888	6,479	5,884	595	9.19
1889	6,597	5,960	637	9.65
1890	6,201	6,111	590	9.51
1891	6,915	6,233	682	9.86
1892	8,249	7,390	859	10.41
1893	9,120	8,244	876	9.60
1894	10,229	9,422	807	7.88
1895	—	—	—	—
1896	9,623	8,017	1,606	16.69
1897	11,412	9,866	1,546	13.54

It appears from this that during ten years 6 per cent of the population furnished from 7.88 per cent to 16.69 per cent of the patients treated. This should be taken as an indication of poverty among the Negroes, rather than of susceptibility to disease. The proportions would be greater if it were not for that aversion to institutions which makes the

Negro keep away from them as long as he can. I know of no reason for the exceptionally large figures in 1896 and 1897. The House of Refuge serves in the double capacity of orphan asylum and house of correction. In the year 1900, 194 of the 433 commitments were for maintenance, and of these 194 only 14, or 7.22 per cent, were colored children. The Provident Association in the year ending October 31, 1900, gave relief to 1975 families, of which 261, or 13.21 per cent, were colored. The Negro churches care for their poor members to a certain indefinable extent, and their societies do a little. But most of the help, it must be concluded, lies outside all organization in the hands of individuals. White men and women help their servants and ex-servants in many ways, but to an incalculable extent by gifts of food and clothing, and the Negroes themselves are always ready to share their shelter or their dinner with an unfortunate friend or neighbor.

Nothing more definite can be said in regard to the amount of pauperism, in the sense of poverty pushed to the point of requiring relief. The amount of poverty among the Negroes can be estimated from their occupations and habitations. The line between poverty and pauperism is farther down among the Negroes than among the whites, because of their lower standard of living, and I should judge it must be lower down in St. Louis in general than in many other cities, because of the low price of food. Fruit and vegetables, especially, are obtainable in season for almost nothing, and a "nickel's worth" of bananas or watermelon will content a Negro for a day. For this reason, although poverty is palpably great and wide-spread among the Negroes here, it probably does not mean so much suffering as one would at a first view suppose.

#### *Crime.*

The amount and character of the crime committed by the Negroes is another subject on which the statistics are disappointingly meagre. The reports of the police department give figures for arrests for certain years since 1876.

TABLE XXVII.—(DIAGRAM XI.)

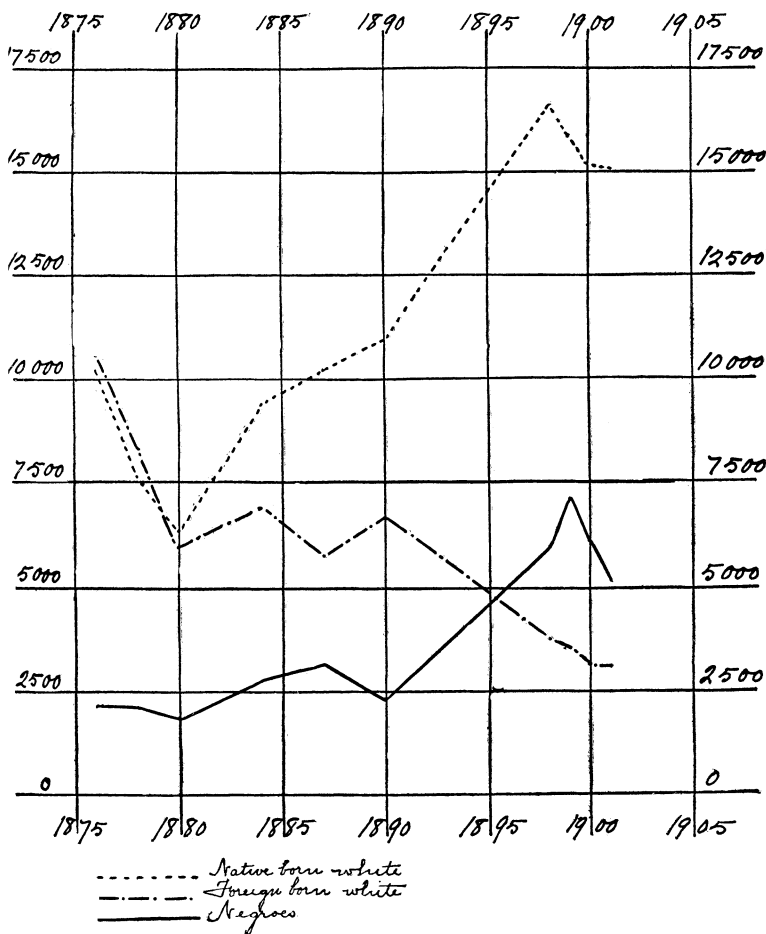
ARRESTS IN ST. LOUIS, FOR CERTAIN YEARS, FROM 1876-1901.

Year Ending —	Numbers.				Percentages.			
	Total.	White.		Negro.	Total.	White.		Negro.
		Native Born.	Foreign Born.			Native Born.	Foreign Born.	
March 31, 1876	22,851	10,190	10,523	2,138	100.00	44.60	46.05	9.35
April 8, 1878	18,057	7,541	8,340	2,176	100.00	41.77	46.18	12.05
“ 12, 1880	14,160	6,360	5,938	1,862	100.00	44.92	41.93	13.15
“ 7, 1884	19,208	9,398	6,858	2,752	100.00	49.98	35.70	14.32
“ 13, 1887	19,046	10,225	5,687	3,134	100.00	53.69	29.86	16.45
March 31, 1890	19,724	10,969	6,550	2,205	100.00	55.61	33.21	11.18
April 12, 1898	26,253	16,544	3,746	5,963	100.00	63.02	14.27	22.71
“ 10, 1899	26,314	15,694	3,559	7,061	100.00	59.65	13.52	26.83
“ 9, 1900	24,420	15,189	3,159	6,072	100.00	62.21	12.93	24.86
“ 9, 1901	23,480	15,130	3,141	5,209	100.00	63.59	14.23	22.18

The number of arrests does not give an accurate measure of the amount of crime committed because it depends so largely on the personnel of the police force. In St. Louis a large proportion of the policemen are Irish, a circumstance that would argue a charitable attitude of forbearance towards the offences of a large part of the foreign-born population and an abnormal vigilance over the Negroes. The Negroes are more closely watched than the whites by any police force, on account of their reputation for crime, and are arrested on more trivial provocation. Allowing for all this, however, some value attaches to these figures, and the evidence is sadly against the Negro. With the exception of one year the Negroes furnished an increasing percentage of the number of arrests until 1898-99. Since then the number and the proportion has decreased slightly. In the year 1898-99, though forming only 6 per cent of the population, they furnished almost 27 per cent of the arrests. The foreign-born population, on the other hand, appears to be growing law-abiding even more rapidly than the Negro is becoming disorderly, the percentage formed by arrests among them having decreased from 46 per cent of the total number in 1876 to

DIAGRAM XL.—(TABLE XXVII.)

ARRESTS FOR CERTAIN YEARS BETWEEN 1876-1901.



14 per cent in the last year,—a far smaller quota than this fifth of the population, with its undue proportion of males and of persons at the crime-committing age, is entitled to. I am inclined to think that much of this is due to official discrimination, dictated by political exigencies or the brotherhood of a common nationality. The increase in crime among

the native-born whites is due to the growing up of the "second generation," which is the element of population all over the country that furnishes the largest amount of crime in proportion to its numbers.

The statistics of commitments to the city jail are vitiated by the fact that the Negroes are rarely able to give bail while white men often are. For this reason they figure at a disadvantage even greater than in the number of arrests. Of the 2646 persons committed to the jail during the last fiscal year 895, or 33.82 per cent, were colored.<sup>1</sup> It is impossible to trace the history of these cases for the reason that the records of the courts where they were disposed of do not distinguish in regard to color.

The amount of juvenile crime should be indicated by the records of the House of Refuge, but unfortunately a classification by causes of commitment exists for only one year, 1900. This shows that only about 55 per cent of the total number of commitments was for purposes of punishment, the other 45 per cent being for maintenance. The following table gives the number of inmates for all causes on January 1st of each of the last ten years:—

TABLE XXVIII.

NUMBER OF INMATES IN THE HOUSE OF REFUGE ON JANUARY 1, 1892-1901.

Year.	White.		Colored.		Total.	Percentage of Negroes.
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.		
1892	175	42	35	22	274	20.8
1893	158	44	39	24	265	23.8
1894	187	62	37	22	308	19.1
1895	183	70	47	19	319	20.7
1896	152	51	37	24	264	23.1
1897	207	55	54	19	335	21.8
1898	203	50	54	10	317	20.2
1899	239	94	55	14	402	17.1
1900	232	94	83	18	427	23.6
1901	253	90	76	19	438	21.7

<sup>1</sup> Figures furnished by the city jailer.

In spite of a few fluctuations the numbers of white boys and girls and of colored boys show a steady increase. The number of colored girls seems to be decreasing, but these figures are so small as to mean little. The superintendent could suggest no reason why there should be a decrease. The percentage furnished by the colored population averages about 20 per cent for the ten years, which is certainly no larger than would be expected.

The work-house statistics give some indications in regard to the less serious crime of adults:—

TABLE XXIX.  
COMMITMENTS TO THE WORK-HOUSE, 1896-97.

Class.	Numbers.			Percentages.		
	Male.	Female.	Total.	Male.	Female.	Total.
Negroes . . .	760	438	1,198	28.25	54.82	34.33
Native whites .	1,467	199	1,666	54.51	24.91	47.74
Foreign whites	464	162	626	17.24	20.27	17.93
Total . . . .	2,691	799	3,490	100.00	100.00	100.00

The colored population furnishes far more than its proper quota here, and the women are especially conspicuous. Taken in conjunction with the statistics of arrests these figures point to the fact that a larger proportion of the crime committed by Negroes and foreign born is of a comparatively trivial nature than is true of that committed by the native-born whites; for while the Negroes furnish 22.18 per cent of the arrests they form 34.33 per cent of the number in the work-house, and the inference is that they must make a correspondingly smaller proportion in the State penitentiary. No statistics of the penitentiary which would give any facts about the St. Louis Negroes have been obtainable, and so there is no way of estimating the amount of serious crime committed by them. It is the general opinion, however, that they are growing more and more reckless in regard to



homicides; the accounts in the daily papers would go to confirm this impression. The "rahzor," which is the most important article in the equipment of a certain large class of Negroes, is used freely on slight provocation. On the fourth of July, 1901, two young women ended their celebration of the day by a discussion of Horace Greeley, and when the difference of opinion seemed too great to admit of a verbal settlement one of the girls drew her knife and fatally wounded the other. A church excursion on a Sunday in June was the scene of another fatality. A slighting remark made in the train brought out knives and pistols, and resulted in the death of a woman, and the wounding of two men. In almost every day's papers an account may be found of a quarrel that ends in slashes and shots. The crimes which account for the large majority of Negro arrests are at the other end of the scale from homicide, petit larceny and gambling being without doubt chief among them. The favorite forms of gambling are "craps" and "policy." Items similar to this from the *Globe-Democrat* of September 2, 1901, are often seen: "The police made several successful raids early yesterday morning on crap-shooters and other unsavory places throughout the city. As a consequence the jail was well filled with colored people as well as a number of white men." The same paper gives a typical instance of a petty theft: "A Negro attacked an eight-year-old girl as she was going home from the butcher shop one morning and forced her to give him the seventy-five cents she had in her hand."

The causes of the excess of crime among the Negroes are not far to seek; it is the result of a moral sense imperfectly developed acting in a social environment where there is little incentive to virtue. Here again, if we could get data for a comparison of Negroes with whites in the same social strata it is questionable whether we should find a great difference.

#### *Organization.*

The Negro is learning organization; the most obvious evidence of this fact exists, I suppose, in the churches. The

colored people of St. Louis have between thirty and thirty-five churches of their own and they rarely intrude into any others. Of this number one is Catholic, one Episcopalian, two Presbyterian, and the rest Methodist and Baptist. It has been impossible to obtain full statistics, but the following table shows the condition of four of the most important churches. All the figures are approximate.

TABLE XXX.  
FOUR NEGRO CHURCHES.

Name.	Denomination.	Number of Members.	Seating Capacity.	Income for Last Year.	Expenses Last Year.			Property.	
					Pastor's Salary.	Other Expenses.	Total.	Valuation.	Indebtedness.
Saints'	{ Prot. } { Episc. }	270	350	\$1,584	\$650	\$934	\$1,584	\$30,000	\$5,000
Paul's	A. M. E.	900	1,500	6,600	1,700	4,500	6,200	57,000	23,000
Central	Bapt.	1,000	800	4,000	1,000	3,000	4,000	30,000	None
Metropolitan	M. E.	830	800	2,550	780	1,770	2,550	22,000	2,600

In point of the education and social standing of members the Episcopalian church undoubtedly heads the list, and the others follow in the order given. St. Paul's and the Central Baptist church have the finest buildings. There is a third building that should be classed with these, that of the Metropolitan A. M. E. Zion church, but I have not succeeded in getting any statistics about it. The \$1700 received by the pastor of St. Paul's is the largest salary paid, and it is safe to assume that the Central Baptist is the only colored church in the city that is entirely free from debt.

The primary function of the church — the satisfaction of spiritual demands and the development of the spiritual life — is fulfilled perhaps as well as in Negro churches anywhere. Several of the clergymen, as has been said before, are men of high ideals and noble character; one in particular, who has been working here quietly and faithfully for twenty years, has done much to raise the standard of morality, not only in his own congregation, but also in the

community at large; and there are several others who deserve to be classed with him. But, as a rule, the spiritual leaders are little above the level of their flocks.<sup>1</sup> Immorality is countenanced, and questionable amusements are allowed, and the emotionalism which is apt to pass with the Negro for religion is encouraged by the character of the instruction given,—all for the sake of making the church “popular” and raising enough money to pay expenses. The importance of the Negro church as a social center has often been noticed. Far more than is the case in white churches, the members of any congregation are in the same social “set” and most of their amusements are connected with the church.

Even more important than the churches in regard to the number affected are the secret and benevolent societies; it is estimated that there are over a hundred and fifty of them in the city and many Negroes belong to seven or eight. They are attracted by the mystery and the processions and titles and regalia of the secret organizations, and by the expectation of getting a substantial return, in the way of burial or sick benefits, for a very small outlay. The opinion of the intelligent Negroes on this point seems to be divided. Some agree that these societies and most of the insurance schemes are wholly deleterious, that they “waste the brain power, the moral, and the pecuniary power, which would redeem the Negro.” Others, generally younger men, think that the disadvantages are more than compensated for by the education that is received in methods of organization.

There are many social clubs among both men and women. The Forum Club deserves mention; it had a membership in 1901 of 186, including most of the professional and prominent business men, and it owns a good club building; its object is the study of race problems; lynchings are investigated by agents, and reports on many points of interest are made at the monthly meetings.

During the summer of 1901 a Negro Business League was formed, with the object of improving the “commercial inter-

<sup>1</sup> *Cf.* Du Bois, p. 202 and ff.

ests of the Negro business men of the city ;”<sup>1</sup> the membership at the beginning was 36.

The Afro-American Young Men’s Christian Home Association is a creditable organization that has been in existence six years. There were 105 members in 1901 ; their building is a three-story ten-room brick house which they were buying for \$3300 ; they had paid \$800 on it in the last two years. Their income amounted for the year to something over \$1000, derived entirely from membership dues and entertainments. The members gather for a devotional meeting on Sunday afternoons, and for a literary and social evening once a week, and the building serves as a clubhouse. There is a “Young Ladies’ Auxiliary” society which has rooms in the same building and carries on the same sort of work.

There are also among the Negroes several organizations looking towards social improvement. The Provident Hospital and Training School for Nurses is the most considerable of these ; it was organized and incorporated in 1894 and has been very successful ; the management is in the hands of a board of directors composed of eighteen colored men who are prominent in various ways ; the staff includes most of the colored physicians of the city, a head nurse, and a lecturer on domestic science ; there is a consulting staff of fourteen prominent white physicians and surgeons. The hospital is pleasantly situated in a three-story brick building, apparently well kept and in good repair ; there is equipment for twelve patients, which comes far short of meeting the demands ; there is no endowment and the association owns no property. The hospital building is rented. On the other hand, there is no debt ; the current expenses, amounting to about \$260 per month, are met by the pay from the patients and by money raised by the board of directors and the Ladies’ Auxiliary. The patients pay from \$5.00 to \$7.00 per week if they are able ; if they are not able they pay as much as they can, sometimes nothing. The cost per week per patient in 1901 was \$7.14, and the receipts were only \$3.60 per

<sup>1</sup> *Globe Democrat*, August 10.

week from each patient. The deficit is made up by the directors and by the efforts of the Ladies' Auxiliary; this society undertakes to provide for the salary of the head nurse and all the hospital linen; it has sixty members, and raises the money by "entertainments." A few contributions have been received from outside, but no general canvas of the white philanthropists of the city has ever been made; the largest single contribution ever received was \$100. There are generally five nurses in training; three were graduated in June, 1901.

The Colored Orphans' Home was founded by the colored W. C. T. U. immediately after its organization in 1889. At present the Home is located in three dilapidated old buildings, comprising fifteen rooms, in a very poor part of the city. A project is on foot for buying a desirable piece of property in the western part of the town, but no immediate realization of it seems probable. The mortality among the babies under present conditions is frightful, though, of course, the provision made is better than nothing. Abandoned colored children are boarded here by the city at the rate of \$12 per month, and "half-orphans" are sometimes paid for. The only other sources of income are voluntary contributions, annual boat excursions, and occasional "concerts;" no trustworthy financial report could be obtained. The children attend the public school regularly while at the Home, and are under the care of a matron who seems to be wise and kind, and who does as much for them as any one could with the equipment she has. Homes are found in the country districts of Missouri when possible, and the matron keeps track of the children as long as she can after they leave. In August, 1901, there were 33 inmates; of these 14 were girls, and 19 boys; two of the 33 were under one year of age.

The colored W. C. T. U. numbers fifteen active members, and carries on work along several lines; a sewing school, with incidental temperance features, was conducted on Saturday afternoons last winter in a Negro quarter; certain mem-

bers visit the jail, the work-house, the poor-house, and the hospitals, where they give "spiritual talks" and distribute creature comforts, in the way of flowers, food, and literature; one member gives temperance talks at the colored Sunday-schools. The finances of the Union are inconsiderable, but it seems to be an active body and to accomplish a certain amount of good.

The Old Saints' Home has been maintained for seven years by the Central Baptist church, and in that time has cared for about twenty old persons, presumably "saints." A seven-room house is rented for the purpose, but more room is needed and a fund for building has been started. The running expenses are between \$700 and \$800 per year. In the summer of 1901 there were seven inmates, including a man and his wife who had been married eighty-one years. Nominally any needy old Negro is received, but practically the limited equipment restricts the beneficiaries to members of the Central church. An applicant sent there recently by the Provident Association was refused.

The Nazareth Home is an interesting institution. It was started five years ago by a young colored girl who has since died, and is run by Negroes, though several white women are interested in it and have a general supervision. It is a non-sectarian home for old women and girls who come to the city to find work. The building occupied has eleven rooms, a good laundry, and a large yard. In July, 1901, there were 9 residents, 5 old women and 4 girls. The "staff" consists of a matron and a laundry superintendent. The aim of the promoters is to make the institution self-supporting, and to that end a laundry is carried on. The girls pay \$1.25 per week and work a day and a half in the laundry. The old women do what they can. I was told that the income from the laundry and the fees from the girls amount to enough to cover all current expenses except the rent of the building. The principle is good, certainly, and the attempt bids fair to be successful.

A Penny Savings Bank has been carried on for four years by the pastor of one of the churches. The liabilities on July 20, 1901, showed deposits to the sum of \$341.<sup>1</sup> An employment bureau is conducted in connection with the bank, primarily for members of the church. No fees are asked, but help is given as far as possible.

A day nursery has recently been established; it is due to the colored kindergartners of the city, who secured furnishings for the house and the contribution of a year's rent from a white philanthropist. They expect to have three attendants, and to have accommodations for from thirty to fifty children. A charge of five cents a day will be made.

A Rescue Home for Colored Girls was in existence for six months two or three years ago; it was established through the efforts of a poor, ignorant, colored woman who believes that she has a definite "call" to do that sort of work. During the six months she received and cared for fourteen girls and six babies. She says that the most encouraging feature of the work was the gratitude and humility of the girls, one of whom "was actually converted and baptized in the Mississippi river." The work lapsed through lack of funds but its divinely "called" promoter has not lost her enthusiasm and she is working now to get enough money to start again.

These attempts on the part of the Negroes to improve the condition of their race, however slight and crude and ineffective they may seem, nevertheless represent considerable effort in the right direction. They are hampered always by the poverty of the promoters and the indifference of the general public, and the achievement does not begin to express the expenditure of time and thought and energy. These institutions, I take it, and even the unsuccessful attempts that have been made, are just one of the most hopeful indications that we have; they evidence that spirit of mutual help, which, if it goes on developing, will do much to solve the Negro problem.

<sup>1</sup> *The Palladium*, July 27, 1901.

*Social Life.*

The time is long past when it was in any degree just to regard the Negroes as a homogeneous mass, all having the manner of life and the desires of semi-savages, and happily the tendency so to regard them is fast passing. The four classes into which Dr. Du Bois divides the Negroes of Philadelphia exist here, and I cannot do better than to copy his classification,<sup>1</sup> with one modification, as a description of the grades of society. I find it necessary to change the description of Grade 3, for it is my impression that the poor and the very poor who are absolutely "honest" and "with no touch of gross immorality or crime" would form a very small class in St. Louis.

"*Grade 1.* Families of undoubted respectability earning sufficient income to live well; not engaged in menial service of any kind; the wife engaged in no occupation save that of house-wife, except in a few cases where she has special employment at home. The children not compelled to be bread-winners, but found in school; the family living in a well-kept home.

"*Grade 2.* The respectable working-class; in comfortable circumstances, with a good home, and having steady remunerative work. The younger children in school.

"*Grade 3.* The poor; persons not earning enough to keep them at all times above want;" not strictly honest, as a class, nor strictly moral. "Including the very poor, and the poor.

"*Grade 4.* The lowest class of criminals, prostitutes and loafers; the 'submerged tenth.'"

I have no means of estimating the size of these four classes, but I should judge that the first grade is the smallest, the fourth next, the second and third about equal and embracing the bulk of the population. The upper class, without doubt, is smaller in proportion to the population than it is in Washington or Philadelphia, and probably several other cities, and it represents less wealth, but in point of education and gen-

<sup>1</sup> Du Bois, pp. 310-311.



eral culture I imagine it would compare favorably. I think, too, that its realization of its responsibilities to the lower classes is stronger than among the upper class in Philadelphia. This impression is drawn from conversations with teachers, clergymen, doctors, lawyers, and political leaders, who with one exception were found to be interested in the progress of the Negroes as a race and to have well-defined theories of the reasons for their present condition and the ways in which they should be helped. The one exception refuses to admit the existence of a "race" problem and prefers to regard the Negroes as individuals having equal chances with white men of achieving individual economic salvation. One evidence of this philanthropic attitude on the part of the more favored class is found in the attempts that they are making to care for the dependent classes of their race. The small number of only partially successful attempts in this direction does not nearly represent the spirit that prompts them. There is also, as has been mentioned, a tendency to encourage by patronage the business enterprises undertaken by Negroes. And finally, but of first importance, these educated Negroes are the teachers of their people; the masses look to them for all their instruction, intellectual and moral.

The recreations and amusements vary in the four classes of society. For the lowest classes there are only the saloons, gambling-dens, houses of ill-fame, low dance-halls, and the streets. The upper class has its social and literary clubs, church entertainments, and pleasant homes. For the mass of the people there are steamboat excursions, barbecues, cake-walks, picnics, balls, and church "sociables," all of them ranging from respectable, well-conducted functions down to orgies of vice and sensuality. I think that it is only in the very lowest sort of amusements that there is any contact with the whites. A Negro is rarely seen at a theatre, or even at any of the summer gardens, which are resorts unrivalled in popularity among all classes of white society.

The state of morality is something that is hard to get at. As is the case everywhere among the Negroes, gambling and

sexual lapses are their greatest failings. There is probably not much drunkenness, though too much of their money goes for beer, but the harm done by this is rather economic than physical or moral. The general impression seems to be that the state of morality is improving. It is at any rate true that there are now circles of society where ideals are high and practices pure.

In considering the attitude of the white people of the city towards the Negro we must divide them into three classes. First, there are the well-to-do native Americans, descendants of the early French colonists and later settlers from all over the South and East. These in general preserve a paternal attitude of friendliness and good-will, howbeit somewhat passive. They would be glad to give employment to competent Negroes if public opinion allowed; they evince interest in any efforts of the Negroes towards self-betterment, and sometimes go so far as to help along by contributions of money; and by caring for individual cases they bear the burden of a large proportion of Negro poverty. Next come the foreigners, chiefly German and Irish, who are actively opposed to the Negro in economic relations and inclined to let him alone otherwise. It is not, I think, that they feel the "color line" themselves, but they seize on that pretext for lowering competition and keeping the labor-market under their own control. Socially they live apart, from the rest of the white population as well as from the Negroes. The third class is composed of what the Negroes call the "poor whites," and it is here that we find the strongest feeling against the Negroes. In spite of the fact that these two classes often live in the same quarters, perhaps because of it, they have a distinctly hostile attitude towards each other; it is a hostility that is comparatively impotent, except where it helps to keep the Negroes out of the trades-unions.

The attitude of all classes of the white people, therefore, operates to restrict the Negro to certain classes of work and to make him socially independent. The races come in contact on the street, in the street-cars, and in the relation of

employer to employee, but in school, church, and amusements they are quite distinct.

Cases of intermarriage are rare. I noticed only two instances in the papers in four months, and any others would almost certainly have been commented upon. In both these cases a white woman was married to a Negro younger than herself. In both cases, too, a license was refused on some pretext by at least one license clerk. The amount of illicit connection, of course, cannot be estimated, but the number of legal unions must be small. In general, public opinion is strong against race amalgamation in any form.

An instance significant of the attitude of the Negroes of St. Louis towards race matters is at hand in the resolutions adopted at a mass meeting held early in the summer of 1901. These resolutions asked the directors of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition to establish a Negro Department, with a view to exhibiting in a separate building "evidences of Negro brain, skill and enterprise."

#### *Political Life.*

An interesting revolution has been going on in the political life of the Negroes of St. Louis. In the early seventies the one Negro who voted the Democratic ticket was arraigned by the congregation of the church to which he belonged on the charge of being "a Democrat and a traitor to his race." At the last municipal election, April 2, 1901, it was estimated that three-fourths of the Negroes voted the straight Democratic ticket. In the sixth precinct of ward 15, with a Negro registration of 228 out of 286, there was a Democratic majority of 63.<sup>1</sup> This revolution has been going on gradually since 1885, but it is only in the last three elections that there has been a Democratic Negro vote of any consideration, and so this decided going over to the Democratic side came as a surprise. The chief cause was loss of confidence in the Republican party leaders, through their failure to redeem election pledges. The defection was largely among

<sup>1</sup> Article by G. B. Vashon in *The Republic*, August 4, 1901.

the younger generation, who can no longer be held loyal to the Republican party by the traditions of the sixties, and who resent the assumption that their vote will go as a matter of course to the party of their fathers, without a proper recognition of their value to that party. It may well be, also, that the character of the last Republican administration in the city aroused a desire even in the Negroes to try what the Democrats would do. A certain colored political leader gave as his reason for a change of party that "the Republican leaders will give offices, when they give them at all, to low-down niggers who bring discredit on the race."

Whatever the explanation, this movement is an indication of independence of thought that is not to be despised in reckoning up the hopeful signs.

#### 10. CONCLUSION.

The Negro problem has been so ably defined by Dr. DuBois,<sup>1</sup> and the duties it imposes on both races so sanely discussed, that there is little more to be said on those lines. It remains for us to see if the facts presented about St. Louis justify any inferences in regard to the working out of the problem here.

The discouraging features are sufficiently evident. There is poverty, so great and so wide-spread that it must be reckoned with in every aspect of the question; there are ignorance and inefficiency that go hand in hand with the poverty, at once reasons for it and results of it; there is an enormous waste of life and vitality, largely in consequence of the poverty and ignorance; there is an imperfectly developed moral sense and a lack of control that bear fruit in an alarming amount of crime; and there is the attitude of the white workman and workwoman which refuses to the Negro an equal industrial opportunity.

In spite of all this there are features which offer encouragement; and these, it seems to me, are that very tendency towards segregation so often deplored, and an accompanying development towards self-sufficiency. I can see no indications in St. Louis that the white population will at

<sup>1</sup> *The Philadelphia Negro*, ch. xviii.

any time in the near future admit the Negroes to an economic or social equality. Everything points in the contrary direction. The Negroes are withdrawing more and more into separate localities; their religious life and their education have always been entirely apart from their white fellow-citizens; they have no desire to mingle with them socially. This tendency towards segregation would be far from encouraging if there were not at the same time evidences of the germs of self-efficiency in the Negro population. These evidences are to be found in the business enterprises conducted by Negroes for a Negro patronage, in the attempts made by the Negroes to care for their dependent classes, and in the attitude of the educated Negroes towards the problems of their race. It seems to me that there is ground here for hoping that in the course of time the Negroes will provide for themselves the industrial opportunities they are now clamoring for. In the face of the organization of capital that is going forward at such rapid strides this may seem impossible. But it rests with the Negroes themselves to eliminate the competition of large establishments by withdrawing their patronage from them and transferring it to small enterprises conducted by their own people. The disposition to do this is evidenced by the success of a certain number of small businesses. The only reason I can see for fearing the state of things which, perhaps with insufficient reason, I argue from present indications would be the danger that this social and economic solidarity might mean also a political solidarity. The independence of thought recently manifested by the younger generation, however, would seem to point in the opposite direction.

It will always be a mooted question, I suppose, this of the value to its recipient of a civilization imposed by an external agency. I am inclined to feel that a slight degree of that desirable quality achieved by the travail of a people or an individual is worth more, certainly to the subject, and probably to the world, than a far greater amount forced upon him. And so, in the case of the Negro, it is what he does for himself and by his own efforts, in the face of opposition, that will win for him salvation.